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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 BONN 06964

LIMDIS

SHAPE FOR INTAF: HELSINKI FOR VEST; VIENNA FOR DEAN

E. O. 11652: X- GDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, EEC, US, GW

SUBJECT: KISSINGER SPEECH AND STATE OF WORLD REPORT: FRG
REACTIONS

REF: BONN 6690

SUMMARY: IN CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBOFFS, POLICY- LEVEL
GERMAN OFFICIALS ARE WELCOMING US INITIATIVE ON
US/ EUROPEAN RELATIONS EMBODIED IN KISSINGER AP SPEECH
AND PRESIDENT' S FOREIGN POLICY REPORT. BUT THESE
OFFICIALS ARE EMPHASIZING THAT CONCEPT OF NEW ATLANTIC
CHARTER IS PREMATURE, THAT RE- DEFINITION OF ALLIED
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OBJECTIVES IS POSSIBLE BUT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT AND, ESPECIALLY, THAT THERE CAN BE NO DIRECT LINKAGE BETWEEN NEGOTIATIONS ON ECONOMIC, MONETARY, SECURITY AND DEFENSE ISSUES. GERMANS ARE LEERY ABOUT INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES AND BELIEVE ANY DOCUMENT EMERGING FROM PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO EUROPE SHOULD BE OF " MORE PRACTICAL THAN IDEOLOGICAL CHARACTER". IN THE DEFENSE FIELD, THERE IS CONCERN OVER MEANING OF US GOALS, SOME READINESS TO CONSIDER FURTHER DEFENSE IMPROVEMENTS AND BURDEN SHARING BUT NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD MULTILATERAL FUND CONCEPT; THESE ASPECTS OF SECDEF STATEMENT AT UPCOMING DPC WILL BE STUDIED CAREFULLY. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF HAS HAD SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS ON KISSINGER SPEECH AND THE PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN POLICY REPORT IN THE LAST FEW DAYS WITH FONOFF DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SIMON AND DEFMIN ASSISTANT SECRETARY WIECK. IN BOTH MEETINGS, EMBOFF BEGAN BY NOTING THAT STATEMENTS OF DR. KISSINGER AND THE PRESIDENT WERE DESIGNED TO STIMULATE A COMPREHENSIVE ALLIED DEBATE ON THOSE NEW APPROACHES BEST SUITED TO ADAPTING ALLIANCE TO " NEW REALITIES" AND PROVIDING BASIS FOR SUSTAINED US/ EUROPEAN PARTNERSHIP. EMBOFF THEN WENT ON TO EXPRESS HOPE THAT OUR PARTNERS, SUCH AS THE FRG WOULD NOT ONLY RAISE QUESTIONS AND OFFER THEIR OWN VIEW OF THE PROBLEMS, BUT ALSO WOULD SUGGEST POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION DESIGNED TO MEET THESE OBJECTIVES. IN RESPONSE SIMON DREW UPON AND READ EXTENSIVELY FROM FONOFF PAPER PREPARED FOR AND UPDATED SINCE CHANCELLOR BRANDT'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON. WHILE WIECK'S COMMENTS WERE DIRECTED PRINCIPALLY TOWARD THE SECURITY AND DEFENSE FIELDS, HIS VIEWS CLOSELY PARALLEL THOSE OF SIMON.

2. RE- DEFINITION OF ALLIED OBJECTIVES. BOTH SIMON AND WIECK BEGAN BY ACKNOWLEDGING NUMEROUS PROBLEMS WITHIN ALLIANCE WHICH STEMMED, AMONG OTHER THINGS, FROM INTENSIFIED DIALOGUE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND FROM NUMEROUS OUTSTANDING ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, BOTH STRONGLY WELCOMED THE US " OVERTURE TO DIALOGUE", WHICH THEY SAID POSITIVELY ECHOED SIMILAR STATEMENTS IN 1972 EC PARIS SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE. SIMON

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SOME RISKS IN EMPHASIZING " IDEOLOGICAL CHARACTER" OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS; BOTH OFFICIALS SAID EXTENSIVE DEBATE OVER DEMOCRATIC BASIS OF ALLIANCE PROBABLY WOULD ENGAGE DISPUTE BETWEEN SCANDINAVIANS AND SOME FLANK COUNTRIES AND IN ANY EVENT WOULD ADD LITTLE TO SATISFACTORY DEFINITION ALREADY EXISTING IN NATO TREATY. BOTH OFFICIALS THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BETTER, IF POSSIBLE, TO DEFINE PRACTICAL OBJECTIVES THAT ALLIANCE SHOULD REACH BY, SAY, 1985. GOAL WOULD THEREFORE BE NOT TO CODIFY EXISTING PRINCIPLES BUT RATHER TO IDENTIFY CONCRETE OBJECTIVES IN A MANNER SIMILAR TO PARIS EC SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE.

4. IN THIS CONNECTION, BOTH OFFICIALS NOTED KISSINGER SUGGESTION " TO ARTICULATE A CLEAR SET OF COMMON

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OBJECTIVES", THUS MAKING IT " FEASIBLE, INDEED DESIRABLE FOR THE SEVERAL ALLIES TO PURSUE THESE GOALS WITH CONSIDERABLE TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY". SIMON AND WIECK REACTED SKEPTICALLY TO THIS PROPOSITION, SAYING THAT SUCH PRINCIPLES PROBABLY WOULD BE EITHER TOO GENERAL TO AFFORD NEEDED ASSURANCES IN SPECIFIC CASES OR TOO PRECISE TO PRESERVE NATIONAL FLEXIBILITY. THE GERMANS SAID THEY NONETHELESS FOUND THIS CONCEPT INTERESTING BUT WERE UNCLEAR AS TO ITS EXACT MEANING.

5. LINKAGE. THROUGHOUT HIS PRESENTATION, BASED ON FONOFF PAPER, SIMON DREW REPEATEDLY ON NEED TO AVOID EXPLICIT INTERDEPENDENCE OR LINKAGE BETWEEN NEGOTIATIONS OVER SECURITY, MONETARY AND TRADE ISSUES. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT TOTALITY OF US/ EUROPEAN RELATIONS ARE, AS KISSINGER SAID, " LINKED BY REALITY", SIMON EMPHASIZED THAT US INSISTENCE ON OPERATIONAL LINKAGES COULD IMPEDE PROGRESS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

6. EUROPEAN UNIFICATION. SIMON STRONGLY WELCOMED RENEWED STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR UNIFICATION OF EUROPE, BUT SAID FRG " SOMEWHAT DISAPPOINTED" IN KISSINGER' S STATEMENT THAT EUROPEAN UNITY IS " NOT AN END IN ITSELF". SIMON SAID GERMANS OF COURSE AGREE THAT EUROPEAN UNITY ALSO IS " A MEANS FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE WEST", BUT FRG CONSIDERS THAT KISSINGER' S STATEMENT RATHER TOO SHARPLY DIVIDED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRACKS OF UNIFICATION PROCESS. HE NOTED IN THIS RESPECT POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION AND CONTENTED THAT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF UNIFICATION PROCESS BOUND TO INTERPLAY WITH ONE ANOTHER.

7. ROLE OF JAPAN. SIMON ENDORSED US WISH THAT JAPAN SHARE IN PROGRESS OF OTHER WESTERN INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES. TO THAT END, HE SAID FRG FAVORED INTENSIFIED JAPANESE ROLE IN " INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSIONS". BUT SIMON SAID BONN SAW NO NEED FOR NEW INSTITUTIONS IN ECONOMIC OR MONETARY FIELD TO ACCOMPLISH THIS OBJECTIVE. HE SAID, WITH SOME EMPHASIS, THAT THE FRG DID NOT CONTEMPLATE ANY MILITARY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATO AND JAPAN, ADDING THE GERMAN UNDERSTANDING THAT

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WASHINGTON AGREED WITH THIS POSITION.

8. EUROPEAN DEFENSE IMPROVEMENTS. SIMON CLOSED BY STRONGLY WELCOMING THE RE- STATEMENT OF THE US MILITARY ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE BY THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY AND DR. KISSINGER. SIMON SAID IT WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR THE EUROPEANS (PROBABLY THROUGH THE EUROGROUP) TO CARRY ON WITH IMPROVEMENTS AND RATIONALIZATION OF EUROPEAN

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DEFENSE EFFORTS, BUT SIMON ADDED THAT IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH MULTILATERAL FUND IDEA IN THE PRESIDENT'S FOREIGN POLICY REPORT.

9. WIECK ALSO RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR EUROPEANS TO ADDRESS DEFENSE IMPROVEMENT AND BURDEN SHARING PROBLEMS, BUT WIECK WAS UNUSUALLY GLUM ABOUT FUTURE EUROGROUP POSSIBILITIES. EARLIER GOAL OF EUROGROUP EVOLUTION TOWARD EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY HAD CLEARLY FADED IN THE FACE OF DIVERSE NATIONAL INTERESTS AND BUDGETARY CONSTRAINTS. WIECK SPOKE NOW ONLY OF EUROGROUP PROVIDING A "REMEDIAL MEANS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE". AS TO BURDEN SHARING, WIECK SAID CONCRETE DISCUSSIONS WITHIN EUROGROUP DOUBTLESS WOULD BE STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY STATEMENT SECDEF WOULD MAKE AT UPCOMING DPC. IT WOULD

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BE HELPFUL IF SECDEF SOUGHT TO SUBSTANTIATE CASE FOR INCREASED EUROPEAN INFRASTRUCTURE SHARES, NON-DISCRIMINATION IN PROCUREMENT, ENHANCED NATIONAL ENDEAVORS ON DEFENSE IMPROVEMENTS AND MILITARY AID TO EUROPEAN PARTNERS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WIECK THOUGHT

IT WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT IF SECDEF SIGNALLED AN IMPENDING " MASSIVE SALES PROGRAM FOR SMART WEAPONS". FINALLY, WIECK EMPHASIZED THE NEGATIVE GERMAN ATTITUDE TOWARD A MULTILATERAL FUND, SAYING US UNLIKELY TO OBTAIN SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS FROM OTHER EUROPEAN ALLIES, BUT SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT COULD INDUCE OTHER EUROPEANS TO MAKE SIMILAR DEMANDS UPON FRG.

10. MBFR AND EUROPEAN SECURITY. IN CLOSING, WIECK SAID US MBFR PAPER HAD STIMULATED SEARCHING DEBATE WITHIN FRG ON SUBSTANCE OF MBFR ISSUES. HE SAID ANY US FORCES REDUCED SHOULD BE PUT ON DUAL BASING STATUS AND ANY INDIGENOUS FORCES REDUCED SHOULD BE PUT ON RESERVED/ CADRE STATUS. IN ADDRESSING SECURITY AND DEFENSE ISSUES, WIECK MADE MANY OF THE POINTS REPORTED IN BONN 6690, PARTICULARLY QUESTIONING EMBOFF ON MEANING OF US STATEMENTS REGARDING FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND NUCLEAR ISSUES.

11. COMMENT: FRG CONCERN OVER SECURITY/ DEFENSE ASPECTS OF KISSINGER SPEECH AND STATE OF WORLD REPORT SEEM TO BE TIED TO THE FEELING THAT " NEW APPROACHES" MAY NOT PROVIDE AS MUCH SECURITY AS EXISTING ARRANGMENTS AND PROBABLY WILL BE MORE EXPENSIVE. FRG HESITATION TO RE- DEFINE ALLIANCE OBJECTIVES REFLECTS THIS SAME CONCERN. BUT WITH MAJOR EAST/ WEST AND WEST/ WEST NEGOTIATIONS PENDING AND KEY EUROPEAN UNIFICATION OBJECTIVES TIED TO THE YEAR 1980, THERE SEEMS TO BE A TENDENCY IN BONN (AND PERHAPS IN OTHER EUROPEAN CAPITALS) TO LEAVE PRECISE RE- DEFINITION OF US/ EUROPEAN CONTRACTUAL RELATIONSHIP FOR THE FUTURE, CONCENTRATING AT THIS TIME ON MORE PRACTICAL WAYS TO IMPROVE ATLANTIC RELATIONS.
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